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N. Trifounovitch, Hon. verg. N. L. Pavloskay, Colonel V. G. Deroc, Nicols N. Voulonfel, W. R. Barker, of the American Embassy; A. M. Hanitch, S. Milanovich, K. S. Paltor, of course there were many others.

THE FOLLOWING DAYS

Following the experience at Budapest and Belgrade, the members of the American party dispersed, some of them going to Venice, Florence, Rome; some to Geneva, Oberammergau, Berlin, and some on to Paris.

THE WORK OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

And the Continuation of That Work with a View to the Economic Reconstruction of the World

By THEODORE E. BURTON

An Address Delivered Before the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Vienna, Austria, August 29, 1922

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION:

It affords me the most sincere gratification to meet with you again in this historic city of Vienna. For eight years our meetings were suspended because of the most terrible of all wars. The organization was given new life by the meeting at Stockholm last year, and today we assemble when problems and responsibilities of supreme importance are pressing upon the nations.

I have been asked to speak upon the Conference for the Limitation of Armament, recently convened at Washington. The immediate incentive for that gathering was a vivid recollection of the suffering and loss of the recent colossal struggle and a burning desire to avoid future wars and the intolerable burden of constant preparedness for war. A resolution had been unanimously passed by both houses of Congress advising a conference of the three leading naval powers.

The Executive, taking independent action, gave a larger scope to the proposed gathering, inviting, in addition to Great Britain and Japan, the governments of France and Italy; also China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal. There were thus nine countries represented at the meeting.

The spirit which actuated the call was intensely practical. While idealistic conceptions were never absent, it was thought best to attempt no more than would promise a successful outcome. An invitation for a general conference of nations was avoided because of the delay, complication, and clash of conflicting aspirations which would inevitably result. The difficulty, under existing conditions, of reaching any agreement for limitation of armies was recognized, and it was decided that the first point of attack should be the frenzied competition for naval expansion in which at least three powerful nations were most strenuously engaged. Problems relating to the Pacific Ocean and the future of China, the so-called Pacific and Far Eastern questions, conveyed a threat of serious disagreements which demanded the attention

of the Conference and were included in the formal invitation. After the meeting of the representatives of the various nations, it appeared that so strong a sentiment had been aroused upon the horrors resulting from the use of submarines and poisonous gases that consideration must be given to these. Thus the Conference practically limited its actions to three subjects: limitation of naval armament, Pacific and Far Eastern questions, and the regulation or prohibition of inhuman implements of warfare.

I trust I may be pardoned for referring to the fact that the United States occupied a commanding position in advancing propositions for limitation in naval programs because her unlimited resources made it possible for her, in case the race for naval supremacy should continue, to distance all competitors.

It was, no doubt, the opinion of many that the sole achievement of the assembled delegates would be a mutual interchange of compliments, the passage of resolutions breathing a spirit of amity, and the appointment of committees to report at a later time, perhaps at another place. Such anticipations were at once dispelled by the opening address of President Harding, which was immediately followed by the more definite statements of Secretary Hughes, who said that the time had come not for general resolutions or mutual advice, but for action; also, "Preparation for offensive naval warfare will stop now."

During the life of the Conference, from November 12, 1921, to February 6, 1922, seven treaties were agreed upon, of which two, four and five, were merely explanatory or supplementary to others.

The following is a brief review of the five: Number 1, signed by the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, agrees that the capital ship replacement or permanent fleet of capital ships of the United States and of the British Empire respectively shall not be in excess of a tonnage of 525,000; that of Japan, 315,000; of Italy and France, 175,000 tons each. The size of capital ships is limited to 35,000 tons and gun caliber to 16 inches. Vessels other than capital ships must be limited to 10,000 tons and gun caliber to 8 inches. The treaty shall remain in force until December 31, 1936. As an illustration of the abatement of naval programs, it may be stated that the total tonnage to be scrapped by the United States is 845,000 tons and the amount expended upon ships to be abandoned is \$332,000,000. The same general proportion applies to the other signatories to the treaty.

Treaty Number 2, signed by the same powers, reiterates rules as to visit and search of merchant vessels and the requirement that passengers and crew shall be placed in safety, and renders submarines subject to these rules. Any person guilty of violation shall be liable to trial and punishment as for an act of piracy. In the same treaty assent is expressed to existing treaties prohibiting the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases.

Treaty Number 3, between the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan, is an agreement to respect the insular possessions and dominions of each in the region of the Pacific. No alliance is implied, but in case of controversy or a threat of aggressive action by any other power the contracting parties shall jointly

confer or communicate with one another. It contains a provision that the agreement between Great Britain and Japan, concluded in 1911, shall terminate.

Numbers 4 and 5 are explanatory or supplementary.

Treaty Number 6, between all nine powers, is an agreement to respect the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; also, to aid in the development of that country and to refrain from taking advantage of conditions there. The principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations is emphasized, and China, for her part, agrees she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. Other powers are invited to adhere to this treaty.

Treaty Number 7 provides for the relief of China from the present inadequate customs duties fixed by treaties with the various powers. In return China agrees to abolish the vexatious likin duties.

The Conference adopted a resolution for the appointment of a commission of jurists to consider the adequacy of existing rules of international law to meet conditions created by the introduction or development of new agencies of warfare; also, some ten resolutions having in view the relief of the Chinese people from existing regulations, such as those relating to extraterritoriality, foreign postal service, and the presence of armed foreign forces in that country.

Far reaching and vitally important as were the treaties promulgated by the Conference, nevertheless that which was most impressive of all was the friendly temper which dominated the proceedings.

How shall the work of the Conference be continued with a view to the economic reconstruction of the world? Let us ever remember that the most wholesome economic and social conditions cannot exist without favorable political conditions. Peace and helpful industry go hand in hand. War destroys not merely life, but beneficial enterprise as well. The threat of war fetters progress and diverts activity from the channels which would furnish healing streams to cure the waste and wreck of the last terrible struggle. A staggering load of debt rests with frightful weight upon the countries engaged in that contest. Even those most fortunately situated in Europe have incurred indebtedness equal to half the total value of all their possessions, public and private, as computed in 1914.

With others the proportion is much greater. The situation has been grievously aggravated since 1918 by limitless issues of irredeemable paper money and by failure or inability to meet current expenditures by sufficient revenue.

In Europe, even if the din of war is absent, to all other ills there is added an intolerable burden of military expenses, together with preparation for possible conflicts in the future.

Except where compulsion or the constraint of poverty prevents, there is still in evidence the construction of armaments and the costly maintenance of armies and navies.

In the United States, where conditions are regarded as much more favorable, in the year ended June 30, 1920, out of appropriations of well-nigh six billions of dollars, barely 400,000,000 dollars were for the civil expenses of the government; the balance was for ex-

penses resulting from war or from preparation for war. Thus approximately 93 per cent was due to war and 7 per cent was for purposes of peace.

In the two succeeding years the proportion was somewhat improved; but was still appalling. It is a startling fact that the expenditures of the United States Government for the four years of the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, were more than in 72 years preceding, and in or connected with the late war more than in 128 years preceding. After previous wars, economists and financiers have noted with glad surprise the very rapid recuperation of the nations engaged, whether victorious or vanquished. But this time the devastation was too vast and confidence and co-operation are lacking. Behind wide areas where hatred, disorder, or want survive, there is a lurking threat which endangers the very life of civilization. The one surest road to economic rehabilitation as well as political and social progress is an abatement of military expenses and operations, and in the relations of the nations with each other the substitution of methods more just, more orderly, and more sensible for the present attitude of distrust and repulsion. It is to this splendid, yet very difficult, task that the most earnest efforts of the Union should be devoted and every friend of humanity should join. The outlook is not altogether dark. The earth, though its surface has been defiled and drenched with blood, will still yield her fruits in rich abundance. Moral and intellectual forces, ever present to succor and to guide, will not fail in this time of crisis. Let us confidently trust that upon the ruins of a chastened and a suffering world solid pillars of faith and hope may rise, upon which shall be erected enduring structures dedicated to peace, to progress, and to the healing of the nations.

In connection with his remarks Mr. Burton, on behalf of the delegation from the United States, presented the resolution found in the proceedings of the Union as number three.

NOTES ON THE SETTING IN AUSTRIA BY THE EDITOR

AUSTRIA was proclaimed a republic the day after the Armistice, November 12, 1918. The estimated population of the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy in 1912 was 49,500,000. Vienna was the capital of this monarchy. According to the census of January 31, 1920, Vienna is now the capital of the "Austrian Republic" with a population of less than six and one-quarter millions.

The question in Austria at the time of the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, during the last days of August, was, Can Austria survive?

The following notes, taken on the spot by the Editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, give something of a picture of that distressed people.

There is a belief held by a no insignificant section of persons that, because of the lack of coal and because of the decline of the crown, it will be impossible for Austria to live. On the other hand, it is true that Austria has large resources in timber, iron, and water power. While the richest portions of what was Austria have gone to Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, these material sources